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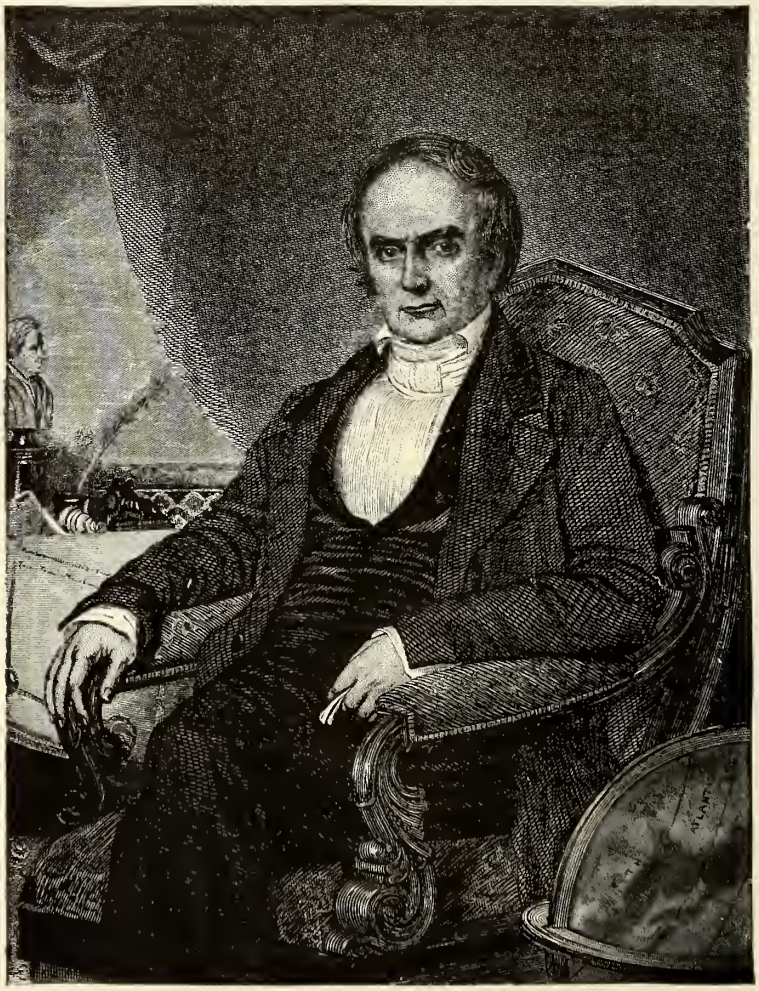


Daniel Webster

SPECIMEN NUMBER.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XII DECEMBER, 1884 No. 6

UNSUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE NATION.

II.

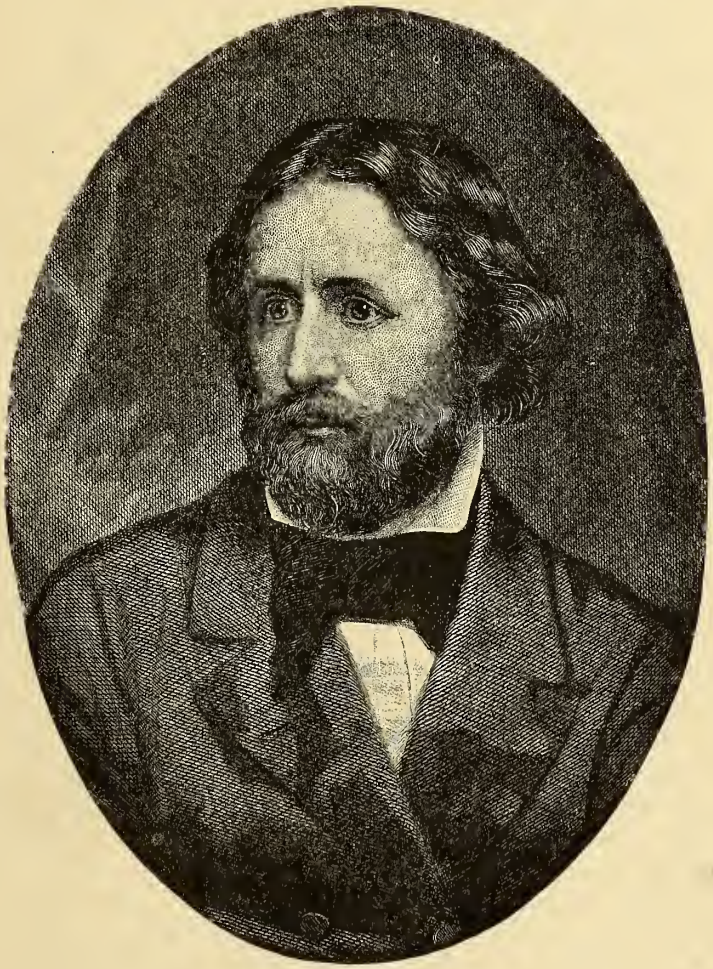
DURING no other ten years of American progress did the character of the country change so rapidly and materially as in the decade from 1847 to 1857. The West was the great disturber of the public repose in its sudden leap into settlement and consequence. The political mind became bewildered with the situation. It was obvious that the demands of civilization must be honored. But problems as well as interests multiplied. And the process of settling the chief question at issue, whether slavery should or should not be introduced into the new Territories, was neither swift nor satisfactory. Prosperity and population advanced with a celerity unparalleled, while men's opinions were not sufficiently nimble to keep abreast in the race. Party lines were quite rubbed out by slavery disputations, and political belief unsettled. Even Daniel Webster, to whose fame the Presidency could add nothing, and whose masterly eloquence depressed the Anti-slavery movement, and commenced the work of demoralization of the Whig party, was by no means at his ease. He preached the gospel of harmony—the doctrine of nationality—pleading with the American people to hold sacred and intact their vast and glorious country with all its wonderful possibilities; but his faith was pinned loosely to the subsequent effects of compromise measures. "Law is uncertain and politics utterly vain," he remarked to Professor Silliman in May, 1852. Mr. Webster's personality was marvelous; when he died in October, only a few days before the election, men paused, with a sense of helplessness, as if one of the pillars of State had fallen. He had for upward of thirty years been at the head of the bar and the Senate of the nation, the foremost lawyer and the foremost statesman, and twice premier. He had filled so large a space in public affairs that with many it was a genuine source of wonder how the country would get on without him.

President Pierce began his administration with a firm resolve to resist all attempts to agitate the subject of slavery. Yet in a few months the excitement over the organization of Kansas and Nebraska had reached

white heat. Then came the great struggle of 1854 for the repeal of the Missouri Compromise. "Is it not hard," asked Mr. Badger, of North Carolina, during the discussion of the bill, "if I should choose to emigrate to Kansas that I should be forbidden to take my old mammy [slave nurse] along with me?" "The Senator entirely mistakes our position," responded Mr. Wade, of Ohio. "We have not the least objection, and would oppose no obstacle to the Senator's migrating to Kansas and taking his 'old mammy' along with him. We only insist that he shall not be empowered to *sell* her after taking her there." As late as half-past eleven o'clock on the evening of March 3, Stephen A. Douglass rose in the Senate to answer his adversaries, close the debate, and demand a final vote. He talked until the somber dawn of the morning of March 4, and his words were well fitted to his thought. The great crowd that hung upon his accents forgetful of fatigue, saw that he was animated by a purpose not only clear to himself but convincing in its presentation. When he ceased speaking and the audience rose to depart, the guns of the Navy Yard proclaimed the triumph of the principle of popular sovereignty.

A net-work of complications followed almost immediately. The people were to do as they pleased in the new States and Territories respecting the introduction or exclusion of slavery. But the picturesque wilds known as Kansas and Nebraska were as yet sparsely populated, and society wholly unformed. The opponents of the bill hurried off parties of settlers from the Northern and Eastern States with all possible dispatch to plant homes, found families, and vote against slavery; and the Missourians crossed the border in crowds to vote down and remove the abolitionists. Thus the fierce conflict was inaugurated that raged with varying degrees of violence for six successive years. The political condition of the country at this particular epoch is a curious study; it might be likened to the "witches' caldron" out of which proceeded spirits black and spirits white, spirits red and spirits blue, spirits gray and yellow and green, and spirits without color, followed by a magical transformation scene, bringing into strong light two substantial and well-defined figures, with several shadowy companions of lesser magnitude. There was, in truth, a fusion of the political elements, and the "Old Line Whigs" disappeared. The Republican party was formed in the summer of 1854 for the sole purpose of grappling with the monster, slavery, and its ingredients were Whigs, Free Soilers, a liberal mixture of Democrats, and a slight coloring of other forces. It was a gigantic infant, and even in its swaddling clothes gave promise of uncommon future strength. The Democratic party made up for its contribution to the Republicans with Whig reinforcements, and prepared to withstand the common enemy.

The "American" or "Know Nothing" party, in taking a new lease of life about the same time spread itself all over the country. Its policy was war upon the influence of foreign-born voters and politicians. All its operations were in secret, and it had an elaborate code of signals and pass-words.



JOHN C. FREMONT.

It was a torment to the Republicans, and in no sense a delight to the Democrats. It had a flourishing existence for some three or more years, and nominated its own President months before the other parties took the field. Millard Fillmore was its unsuccessful candidate.

The Republicans chose John C. Fremont as their first candidate. He

was fifty-three years of age, a man of fine presence, and many personal attractions, and exceedingly popular among the people at large, who remembered his exploits and perils as a "Pathfinder," and that his name was identified with the passes and defiles of the Rocky Mountains, and the great interests of the Pacific coast. The leaders of the new party were jubilant; it was meeting with extraordinary success, and the accessions it received from the various organizations and factions inspired hopes, which it was thought might be realized—if every available shoulder was put to the wheel. The canvass was remarkable in every respect. The Democrats were seriously divided in sentiment; in Cincinnati Stephen A. Douglas, Franklin Pierce, and James Buchanan were prominent before the convention. Great excitement prevailed, particularly when two sets of delegates, the "hards" and the "softs," appeared from New York, and two sets from Missouri. The latter in knocking for admission knocked down the doorkeeper, and created so much riotous confusion that they were excluded altogether. The New Yorkers were, after some delay, admitted —both opposing delegations—each delegate to have half a vote. There was no little bitterness manifested in the convention. It is was not until the seventeenth ballot that Buchanan was nominated, with John C. Breckinridge for Vice-President.

The whole North henceforward was a stirring scene of marches and parades, bonfires and torch-lights, immense public meetings, eloquent speeches, songs and catch-words, and all sorts of minor proceedings and demonstrations during the campaign. The conspicuous morality, and the clearly understood policy of the Republicans contributed greatly to their advantage. Slavery was the all-absorbing topic, except with the "Know Nothings." The curious electioneering processes at this time, particularly at the West, would form an interesting chapter. In Northern Ohio, for instance, the "Know Nothings" held their meetings in barns and in all sorts of out-of-the-way buildings, never twice in the same place. The mystery hanging about them made them appear more formidable than they really were. In the South-west, a long way this side of Kansas, candidates for local and other offices went from house to house soliciting votes. A story is told of two opposing candidates who spent a night together in a cabin. One thought to make himself interesting (and thus secure the vote from the cabin) by offering to bring the housewife a bucket of water from a distant spring: the other took immediate occasion to court the baby, and succeeded so happily that the man with the water-bucket set it down upon his return in despair. A member of Congress from this region, who became chairman of Ways and Means, and was

Speaker of the House through two Congresses, from 1851 to 1855, in his early electioneering journeys always carried his fiddle with him, and played for the people to dance at night wherever he happened to stop. He had very little education, no knowledge of English grammar at the beginning of his career, and his speeches were exceedingly crude. But his fiddling and dancing, fine personal appearance, and wonderful tact in mingling with the people, through which he won their personal admiration and favor, enabled him to secure his re-election for every successive term during three entire decades. He was beaten at last by a younger and more vigorous man, who rode a fleeter horse in John Gilpin fashion, and reached more remote towns, and made more convincing speeches which no energetic opponent was on the ground to answer, than any other candidate before him had thought of doing. At the South this Presidential election was very quietly conducted. No one in that section thought of voting for Fremont. Buchanan was opposed only in a mild way by Fillmore.* Fremont almost failed, however, of being "unsuccessful" through the enthusiasm of Northern voters, and to the surprise of the world received one hundred and fourteen electoral votes, only sixty less than Buchanan, who became President. Fillmore received eight electoral votes—all from the State of Maryland.

The next four years was a period in American history of intense intellectual activity. The solution of the slavery problem, so far as its extension into new States and Territories was concerned, was uppermost in the public mind. Good men and true were horrified at each other's opinions. There were two ways—or more—to interpret every political measure; like the ingenious sign-board which approached from one direction read one thing, and from the opposite direction read quite another. Darkening storm-clouds, changeful and appalling in their general aspect, danced through the skies, and settled in threatening and consolidated columns at the North and at the South. Peacemakers were busy, but their efforts were as ineffectual as the barricade erected to stay the progress of a cyclone.

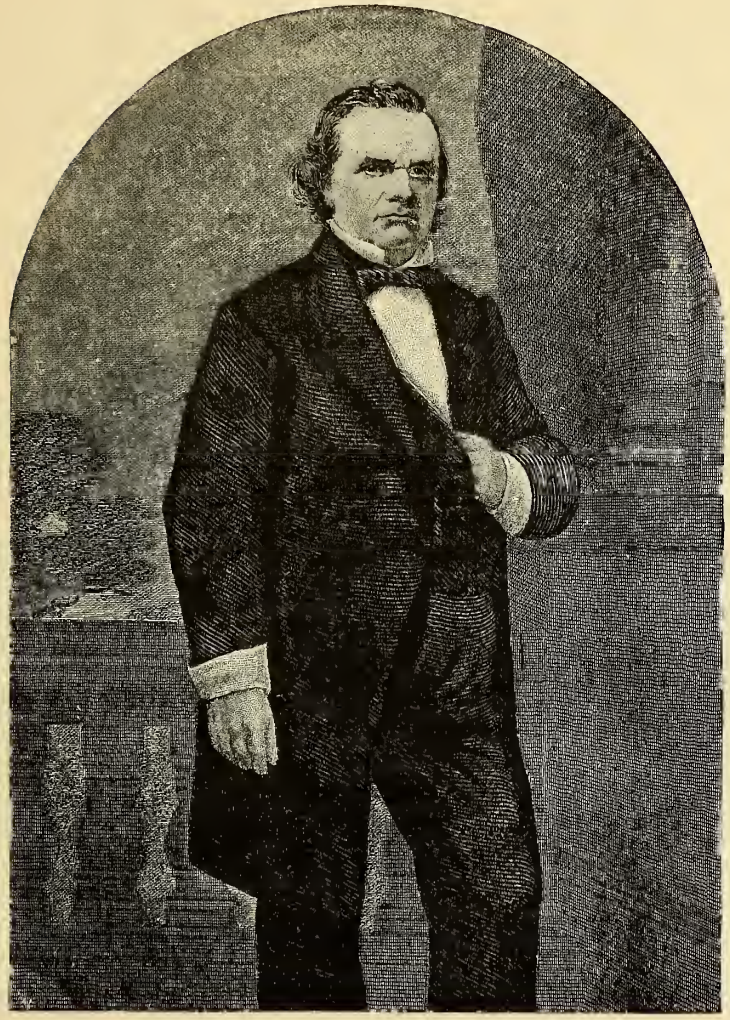
The unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency, Stephen A. Douglas, displayed his giant abilities at this crisis. He led the party that occupied the line, or middle ground, between the two great antagonizing forces. He was a whole-souled Democrat, and the indefatigable advocate of western interests and development. He was a native of Vermont, and when defeated for the Presidency was forty-seven years of age. In 1833, then only twenty, he traveled West to seek his fortune; and near Jacksonville, Illi-

* This Magazine, in March, 1884 (XI. 191), published the portrait of President Fillmore.

nois, taught school, and studied law. The next year he was admitted to the bar, and entered upon the practice of his profession. Prior to 1835 his genius had attracted marked attention, and he was elected Attorney-general of the State. The next year he was sent to the legislature; and in one more year was the unsuccessful Democratic candidate for Congress. He was beaten by only five votes in a poll of 36,000. He had traversed Illinois when it was almost roadless. A gentleman who saw him come in from that canvass at Chicago, said his horse, his clothes, his boots, and his hat were all worn out. He had to use a rope for a bridle, and his saddle-bags looked as if they had seen the wars of a century. In 1840 he traveled seven months, and addressed two hundred and seven meetings in the interest of Van Buren, who carried Illinois, although Harrison was elected President. He was appointed secretary of state for Illinois the same year; and shortly after was made Judge of the Supreme Court by the Illinois legislature. He was at this time a bright, sparkling, impulsive young man of only twenty-seven. In 1843, at thirty, he was sent to Congress, was twice re-elected to the House, and in 1847 took his seat in the United States Senate for the full term of six years. He was twice re-elected to the Senate, in which he remained until his death, thus serving eighteen years in the legislative councils of the nation. He was great intellectually, great in original resource. He was a short, stout man, with an exceedingly large head, and an earnest, impressive face.

He struck out a path for himself, and his personal magnetism, wonderful energy, quick intelligence, and calmness in reasoning placed him among the foremost of statesmen. He was not a product of the time, but he attempted to reconstruct the time. His famous bill of 1854 will ever be a point to date from in American history, as it was the prelude to the fearful strife in Kansas, which was the prelude to open civil war. His position in regard to popular rights he boldly maintained, and in resisting the Lecompton (fraudulent) Constitution became involved in a controversy with President Buchanan. His re-election to the Senate over Abraham Lincoln in 1858 was notable from the fact that these two eminent candidates conducted the canvass in person, holding joint discussions in many places. When Douglas first heard who was to be his adversary, he exclaimed, "I shall have my hands full; he is the strong man of his party—full of rich facts, dates, and the best stump-speaker, with his droll ways and dry jokes, in the West; he is as honest as he is shrewd, and if I beat him, my victory will be hardly won."

Congress and the whole country were in feverish excitement as the time drew near for the nineteenth Presidential election. Angry threats,



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

and hard, contemptuous and vindictive responses among the national legislators, dismayed all classes. The Democrats met in convention at Charleston in April, 1860, with full delegations from every State in the Union. But it was a many-minded assemblage and began wrangling on the start. Caleb Cushing, of Massachusetts, presided. It was found impossible to agree upon a "platform," and after much angry disputation fifty delegates withdrew. The remainder balloted fifty-seven times for

a candidate, and Douglas received the highest number of votes, but not sufficient for his nomination. The convention finally adjourned in despair to meet in Baltimore on the 18th of June. The Charleston seceders arranged to meet at the same time and place, hoping to effect a reconciliation. An overture was made by the South to the New York Delegation—who held the situation—to heal all difficulties by the nomination of Governor Horatio Seymour, an overture which was rejected. The original body proceeded to confirm the nomination of Mr. Douglas. The seceding convention then nominated for Vice-President John C. Breckinridge, who represented the slave-holding interests of the South. In the mean time another party, called the "Constitutional Union," met in convention and nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, for President, and Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. This party was a combination of conservative elements, temporarily brought together, and its expressed purpose was the preservation of the Union.

To accommodate the nominating convention of the Republicans, an immense Wigwam was constructed in Chicago. On the morning of the 16th of May it was crowded to overflowing with delegates and their friends from Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, the District of Columbia, Kansas, and Nebraska, and from all the free States. The importance of the occasion was fully understood. Governor Morgan, of New York, called the assembly to order, and George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, was made permanent chairman. Two days were spent in organizing, and on the third the balloting began. New York presented her distinguished son, William H. Seward, for the nomination, and several of the States voted for him, but Mr. Lincoln gained in the second ballot, and in the third received the majority vote. During this never-to-be-forgotten day scenes of the wildest excitement occurred. Every inch of space within the Wigwam was filled, and tens of thousands who could not enter thronged the streets, the balconies, and the house tops; ladies in groups were seated in chairs upon the sidewalks, or stood in uncomfortable places through the long hours. Men stationed on the roof of the Wigwam communicated what was going on within to the anxious and waiting audience without. The announcement that Lincoln was nominated elicited thunders of applause, one hundred guns joining in the general uproar. A large portrait of Lincoln sprang as if by magic to the platform, and as soon as his voice could be heard above the cheering, William M. Evarts, in behalf of New York, moved that the nomination be made unanimous, and the motion was seconded by Carl Schurz, of Wisconsin, and Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, and carried in a frenzy of enthusiasm.

The canvass thus opened was distinguished from all that had preceded it by the serious character of the issues, and the sharpness with which they were defined by three of the contestants. Douglas, with great spirit and tireless energy, addressed the people of nearly every State in the Union.

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.

In Illinois he frequently alternated with Lincoln in the occupancy of public halls, both candidates attracting enormous crowds. The country was once more alive with mass-meetings and torch-light parades, and party tactics were very much animated by the performances of the youthful "Wide Awakes" and "Little Giants," in uniformed companies, who seemed

in their activity on a perpetual march with flags and banners, the one shouting for Lincoln the other for Douglas. But the division among the Democrats on the question of principle—a question deemed on either side of overwhelming consequence — turned the scale in favor of the Republicans.

Of the three unsuccessful candidates, Breckinridge received the larger electoral vote. He was a native of Kentucky, born near Lexington in 1821, thus only forty-one years of age. He was well educated, a graduate from Centre College, Kentucky, and an able lawyer. He served as a major during the Mexican war, and distinguished himself as the counsel of General Pillow during the famous court-martial. From 1851 to 1855 he was a member of Congress; and from 1857 to 1861 Vice-President, and then was sent to succeed John J. Crittenden in the United States Senate. With the breaking out of the civil war he went into the Southern army, and was subsequently Secretary of War at Richmond.

John Bell was sixty-four years of age, an eminent lawyer and statesman, who had been for nearly a quarter of a century in the councils at Washington; at one time Speaker of the House, and on many occasions serving as chairman of important committees in the Senate. He was greatly respected for his nationality of sentiment, and it was believed that he would stand by the Constitution at all hazards.

Next to Lincoln, Douglas received the largest popular vote. But the electoral votes stood as follows: one hundred and eighty for Lincoln, twelve for Douglas, seventy-two for Breckinridge, and thirty-nine for Bell. Douglas lifted his voice emphatically for the maintenance of the government when the crisis came. On his death-bed in June, just three months after the inauguration of his rival, his legacy of advice to his children was: "Tell them to support the Constitution and the laws."

With the events of the next four years we are all painfully familiar. As the time drew near for the twentieth Presidential election, the government was still warring for its life. It was a trying ordeal for the people of a great Republic to be compelled to vote for an Executive head in the midst of the horrors of civil warfare. But it was a national duty that could not be evaded. The magnitude of the interests involved, the conviction that was gaining on the public mind that no one political party was strong enough to conquer the South, and the sacrifices of treasure and blood—unparalleled in the history of wars and of nations—which had already distinguished the conflict, made it overwhelmingly apparent that the wisest and most sagacious of statesmen were as necessary for the country's good as the greatest generals in the field. Opinions clashed as to the propri-

ety of renominating Mr. Lincoln. His administration was sharply criticised. Taxes were increasing, and the public debt was becoming larger every day. The cry for peace, on humiliating terms, was aggravating and protracting the war; and regiments returning home, worn, weary, maimed and depleted, were filling the towns and cities with demoralized inhabitants. "We are beset by dangers, foremost of which is the Presidential canvass," wrote Thurlow Weed to Mr. Parks, in London, on April 17, 1864.

The radical wing of the party who had placed Mr. Lincoln in the Presidential chair, and who thought him too slow and indecisive in his war measures, called a convention at Cleveland on the 31st of May for the purpose of nominating some other citizen for the difficult and responsible position. Three hundred and fifty delegates, from fifteen States, met accordingly, and Gen. John Cochrane, of New York, was made chairman. After the adoption of a platform, John C. Fremont was nominated for President, and Gen. John Cochrane for Vice-President. The general convention of Republicans met in Baltimore on the 7th of June—the following week—over which Governor Dennison, of Ohio, presided. Five hundred delegates were present, Tennessee, Louisiana, Missouri and Arkansas being represented. On the first ballot Mr. Lincoln received all the votes except those from Missouri, which were cast for Gen. Grant in accordance with previous instructions. The nomination was then made unanimous. Before the time came for election in the autumn, both General Fremont and General Cochrane withdrew from the contest in favor of the union of the Republicans in support of their regular candidates.

The choice of the Democratic party for President was George B. McClellan, and for Vice-President George H. Pendleton. The convention was held at Chicago in August, Governor Horatio Seymour, of New York, in the chair. General McClellan was then but thirty-eight years of age, the youngest man ever nominated for the high office. He was five years younger than De Witt Clinton at the time of his candidacy. He was in high favor with the Democratic leaders, who had for months premeditated elevating him to the Presidency of the nation. His career had been full of action. He was the son of Dr. George McClellan, one of the founders, in 1825, of the Jefferson Medical College, in Philadelphia. Sent early to the University of Pennsylvania, he was prepared to enter the Military Academy at West Point at sixteen, from which he was graduated with honors at twenty. This was in 1846, and he was immediately sent to Mexico as Lieutenant of Engineers, where he participated in many of the important battles, and for gallantry and meritorious services was

rapidly promoted. At the close of the Mexican war he returned to West Point as instructor of bayonet exercise, and translated from the French a "Manual," which became the text-book of the service. We next hear of him on an exploring expedition to the Red River; then surveying the rivers and harbors of Texas; presently examining the western part of the proposed route for a Pacific Railroad, his report forming the first volume of "Pacific Railroad Surveys" published by the government. He was sent on a secret mission to San Domingo; and in 1855 to Europe to study the organization of European armies, and observe the war in the Crimea. All this before he was thirty. He published a number of important military works; and his varied and interesting experiences, as well as his natural aptitudes, fitted him for the important military positions he occupied during the war. Prior to 1861, for some three or four years, he had been successively Vice-President and general superintendent of the Illinois Central Railroad, and president of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad; and being called into the service of the Union, he rose from a Major-General in the regular army, to the highest place—succeeding General Scott as General-in-Chief—and was himself succeeded by General Halleck. In his letter of acceptance of the nomination for the Presidency, he dissented from the platform of the convention, not believing that the war was a failure, or that peace was desirable irrespective of conditions. His views, clearly expressed, were not altogether welcome to the radical wing of the Democracy—though they won the respect of the world. Many Republicans voted for him. But, on the other hand, many war Democrats supported Mr. Lincoln, in the full faith that a change of rulers at such a crisis would be disastrous. The election was quiet and orderly, although the canvass had been prosecuted with spirit, and the results gave Lincoln two hundred and twelve electoral votes, and McClellan twenty-one.

From this critical hour important events followed each other for four years with a swiftness that kept the whole country in a continual ferment. The agitation consequent upon the assassination of President Lincoln, and the administration of President Johnson, prepared the way for an enthusiastic nomination for the next Presidency, by the dominant party, of General Grant, who had never been an active partisan in politics. The Democrats convened in New York on the 4th of July, 1868, Governor Horatio Seymour presiding. For nearly a week they balloted in vain for a candidate. The delegates were worn out with the continued strain, excitement and intense heat. The twenty-second ballot was reached, when the convention was electrified by General McCook, chairman of the Ohio delegation, who in a speech of ringing eloquence cast the whole twenty-one

GEORGE B. McCLELLAN.

votes of his State for Governor Seymour. Cheer after cheer rent the air, and notwithstanding the vehement refusal of Seymour to accept the candidacy, the balloting went on, and he was unanimously nominated, amid a tornado of applause. He was subsequently persuaded to accept, and by so doing made, as he still declares, the great mistake of his life.

Governor Seymour was the idol of the Democratic party, a man of elegant scholarship, broad culture, and varied accomplishments—equally familiar with books and with affairs—and ranked then, as now, among the foremost men of his time. He had been twice Governor of New York, from 1853 to 1855, and from 1863 to 1865. No man ever had greater faith in the future of the American Republic than he; in one of his private letters to President Lincoln in 1863 occurs this passage: "For the preservation of the Union I am ready to make any sacrifice of interest, passion, or prejudice." It is related of him that while dining with Lord Houghton, of England, that gentleman said, "Are you not sometimes sorry that Mother England let your States escape from under her wing?" "Well, no, my lord, not exactly," replied the Governor, "but I do sometimes think we should not have allowed you to leave us!" "What in the world do you mean?" asked Lord Houghton, smiling. "Oh, simply that it would be rather pleasant to have you in the family of States. Having 50,000,000 of people on our side, of course we could do most of the governing. Still, for the sake of old relationship, I have no doubt we could have afforded to allow you a few extra Congressmen and a Senator or two," was the Governor's humorous reply.

He was born in 1811, and educated for the law. His father was one of the powerful company of New York politicians known as the "Albany Regency"; thus he was bred in the atmosphere of politics, and to the opinion that love for party is a sentiment that can no more be eradicated than the belief in religion. He was much in the society of statesmen during his youth, both in Albany and at Washington. And in entering public life he was animated with the high purpose of taking an active and intelligent interest in whatever concerned the general welfare of his State and the country at large. The campaign in which he was defeated for the Presidency was one of the most interesting, in some of its features, in the whole catalogue of Presidential campaigns. General Grant, the victorious soldier, could not, however, be beaten. He received two hundred and fourteen electoral votes, while Governor Seymour's numbered only eighty. A few months afterward, when President Grant visited Utica, Governor Seymour was one of the first to congratulate him; and at a public reception remarked with charming grace that he was "a better soldier than the General, and for that reason was not able to run so well."*

In the twenty-second Presidential election—1873—there were seven unsuccessful candidates. The multiplicity of perplexing questions that arose during Grant's first term severely tested the national sagacity. The

* This Magazine published in August, 1884 [XII. 97], the portrait of Governor Seymour.

public acts of the President were subject to constant and merciless criticism. Opposition to the administration grew and strengthened; and a whole brood of wings and factions circled about the two great political bodies. The "Labor Reformers" convened at Columbus, Ohio, in February, 1872, and nominated Judge Davis, of Illinois, for their candidate. He declined, and Charles O'Conor, of New York, subsequently received the nomination. The "Prohibitionists" next met in convention, also at

CHARLES O'CONOR.

Columbus, and made James Black, of Pennsylvania, their unsuccessful candidate, The "Liberal Republicans" assembled in Cincinnati, in May, attracting wide attention. They claimed that President Grant had shown himself deplorably unequal to the task imposed upon him by the necessities of the country, and culpably careless of the responsibilities of his high office. They invited into their realms all the dissatisfied, and it was thought that with an "available" candidate they could prevent the re-election of Grant. Many an uneducated voter clamored for a change in the government, thinking it would better his own private affairs. Like the Long Island fisherman who, when asked if he was a Republican, replied,

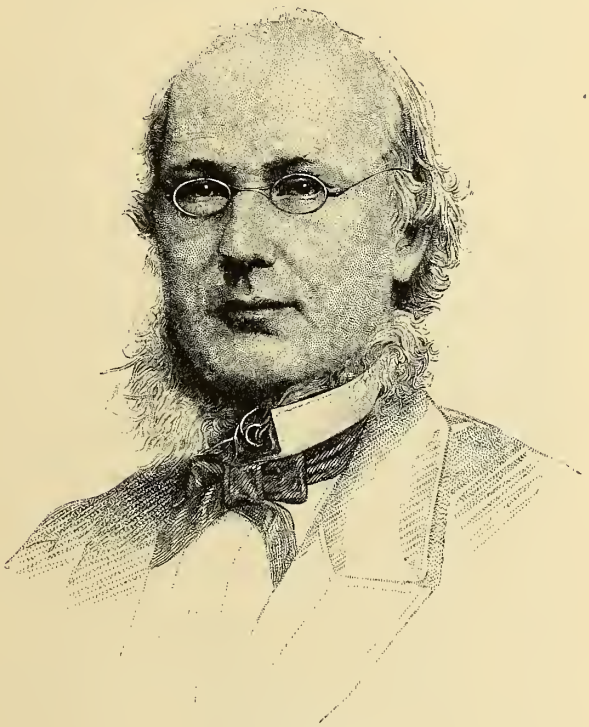
"Well, yes; but the fact is, I haven't averaged more than half an eel to the pot this two months, and I guess we had better have a change; so I am going to vote the Democratic ticket this time."

The process of organizing the convention was embarrassing. From many States, including New York, came two antagonistic factions. Diversified elements poured in from the different sections of the country. One of the Arkansas delegates was an old negro preacher named Tabb Gross, the former slave of a Kentucky preacher, who had bought his own freedom and emigrated West. Among the delegates from Kentucky was the son of his former master, who asked Tabb to tell him "honestly" who they were going for down in his State? "Well, Mars' Alfred," was the reply, "dey is mos'ly goin' fo' offis." When the organization was finally accomplished, Carl Schurz was appointed to the chair. On the sixth ballot Horace Greeley was nominated for the Presidency. The Democratic convention met at Baltimore in July, and also adopted Mr. Greeley as their candidate. In the meantime the regular Republicans had convened at Philadelphia in June and nominated President Grant for re-election.

During this spirited and memorable campaign Horace Greeley performed an incredible amount of mental and physical labor. He had just passed his sixty-first year, but to all appearances was in robust health. He addressed numerous and eager audiences in every part of the country, frankly discussing the great questions at issue, and emphasizing his convictions with boldness and candor. No man ever canvassed for himself in this country whose speeches were more replete with specific and technical knowledge, more appropriate to the occasions which inspired them, or finer specimens of brilliant oratory. No work which Mr. Greeley ever did was so vividly indicative of his remarkable powers—it was as if he had concentrated the whole force and resources of a lifetime in the achievement of a cherished purpose. Having been so long before the public as a great editor, and, unsparing in his criticism of others, he naturally became the target not only for the political adversary, but for all who had any grievances to avenge. It would not be easy to forget the singularly youthful expression of his face at this time. His complexion was extremely fair; his head larger than the average; his forehead round and full, rising into a high and ample dome; his hair white, inclining to red at the ends, and thinly scattered; and a smile seemed ever playing upon his countenance. "Seated in company with his hat off," says his biographer, "he looked not unlike the 'Philosopher' he was often called; no one could take him for a common man."

The history of his earnest and busy career has been much written.

Every school-boy knows how he fashioned his own fortunes, and founded one of the great newspapers of the world. His ambition was to make the best daily journal that ever existed. His industry and his genius, his simple life and his careless habits, his independence of thought and his promptness in action, his skill in reading character, and his peculiar wit, were all



HORACE GREELEY.

matters of popular interest. He was a feature of the times. To many he was the *New York Tribune* in the flesh. He was, in short, Horace Greeley.

Many of the Democrats were greatly dissatisfied with the nomination of a Republican candidate, and the opposition to Mr. Greeley grew so strong that in September the discontents assembled in convention at Louisville, Kentucky, and nominated Charles O'Conor, the great lawyer, who had already received the nomination of the Labor Reformers. He declined by telegram, promptly. But not finding any other available candidate the convention left the ticket as originally arranged, and Mr. O'Conor received nearly thirty thousand popular votes. General Grant was elected by a larger majority than in his first election. The Union then

consisted of thirty-seven States, and every State on that occasion chose electors by a popular vote for the first time in the history of the Republic. Mr. Greeley sickened and died on the 29th of November, a few days after the election. Thus the Democratic electors cast their votes without regard to concentration. Grant received two hundred and eighty-six, Thomas A. Hendricks forty-two, B. Gratz Brown eighteen, Charles J. Jenkins two, and Judge Davis one.

An army of events swept the country during this administration, and paved the way for a season of unparalleled excitement over the choice of candidates for the Presidency of 1877. The money panic of 1873, which left its desolating effects upon institutions and industries of every character, Indian hostilities on the frontiers of civilization, and frauds of the first magnitude in high places, were not such aids to political harmony as wise leaders would naturally have chosen. An effort was made to give President Grant the nomination for a third term, and there was a strong, well-organized endeavor to make James G. Blaine a candidate. When the Republicans met in convention at Cincinnati in June, 1876, each of the three largest States had a candidate of its own to offer. New York presented the name of Roscoe Conkling, and Ohio that of Rutherford B. Hayes. On the first ballot Mr. Blaine received much the larger number of votes. On the seventh ballot, Mr. Hayes, who had been steadily gaining ground, received five more votes than the number necessary for his nomination, which was immediately made unanimous. Mr. Blaine from Washington congratulated Mr. Hayes by telegram on the result. The "Prohibitionists" had already, in May, convened in Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated Green Clay Smith, of Kentucky, for the Presidency; and an "Independent National Party" had also convened during the same month at Indianapolis, and nominated Peter Cooper* of New York for the highest place in the gift of the nation. The Democratic Convention was held at St. Louis a few days after the Republicans adjourned at Cincinnati, and divided public attention with the great International Exhibition of the products of the industries of nations, at Philadelphia. There were several candidates presented by the different States, but New York's eminent son, Samuel J. Tilden, was nominated on the second ballot with frantic enthusiasm. For Vice-President, Governor Hendricks, one of the unsuccessful candidates for nomination to the higher office, was unanimously chosen.

The Democrats were delighted with the outlook, and proud of their candidate. The text of their platform was "reform." The Republicans had been in power sixteen years, it was said, and the time had come for

* This Magazine published, in July, 1883 [X. 59], the portrait of Peter Cooper.

SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

a change of rulers and a change of measures. A new broom must be introduced into the national housekeeping, and new economies inaugurated. Samuel J. Tilden was a successful reformer. He had found time amid his multifarious duties at Albany as Governor of the State of New York to stop the stealing and reduce the taxes. There was the ring of the true metal for the voter's ear in the very mention of reduction of taxes. He had also won the public respect and gratitude by his overthrow of the famous Tweed "ring" some years prior to this date—the details of which would form a chapter more thrilling than any fiction. Tweed's opinion of

Tilden in 1869 was expressed in the following terse paragraph: "Sam Tilden wants to overthrow Tammany Hall. He wants to drive me out of politics. He wants to stop the pickings, starve out the boys, and run the government of the city as if 'twas a blanked little country store up in New Lebanon. He wants to bring the hay-loft and cheese-press down to the city, and crush out the machine. He wants to get a crowd of canting reformers in the Legislature, who will talk about the centrifugal force of the government, and cut down the tax levy below a living rate."

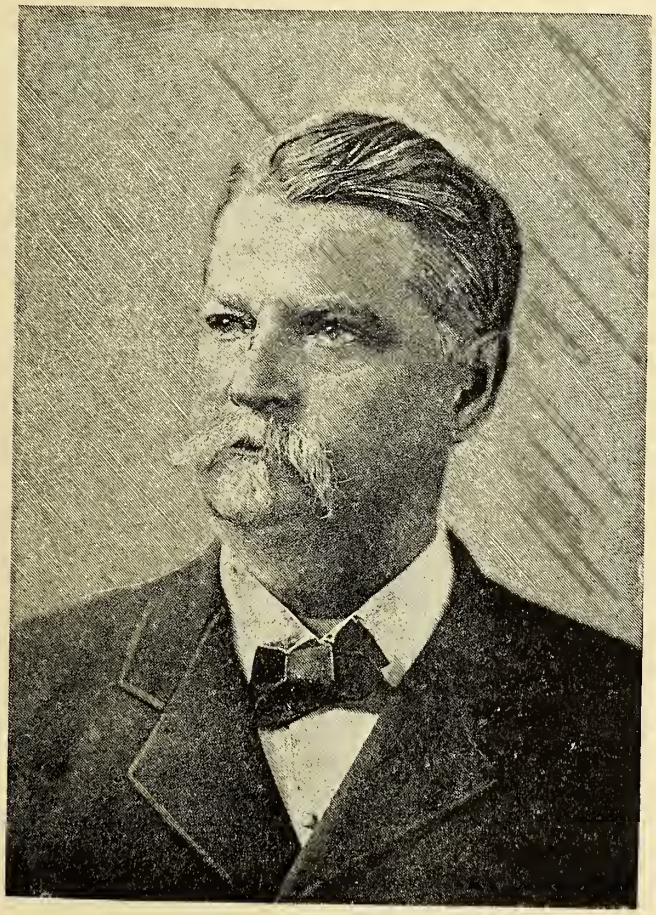
Governor Tilden was a born financier. In his heroic battle with the "Canal Ring," standing alone and resisting friends as well as foes, he saved the State millions. He was born in 1814, and was in the same class in Yale College with Chief Justice Waite, William M. Evarts, and Edwards Pierrepont. He rose to eminence as a lawyer at an early age, and was connected with some of the most important civil and criminal cases of his time. Though always a politician he was such from a high sense of duty as a citizen, losing sight of personal interests in his overmastering desire to benefit the masses through the machinery of government. He may justly be styled a political philosopher—one who could reduce statesmanship to an exact science.

The election was conducted in a more quiet manner than any of its predecessors. The immediate returns indicated victory for the Democrats. But when double returns, showing differing results, came in from four of the Southern States, and Louisiana was in anarchy with her two governors and two electoral colleges, the cry of fraud became so loud and so general that official investigation was imperative. All of the crooked cases were complicated in their incidents, and thus for months the result of the election was in actual doubt. To count the electoral votes a tribunal was established, called the Electoral Commission, as evenly divided politically as practicable. It was in session from the first day of February until four o'clock in the morning of the second of March, attracting the critical notice of the whole world. The result as then declared was one hundred and eighty-five votes for Hayes, and one hundred and eighty-four for Tilden. The decision was final, and Hayes was duly inaugurated two days afterward, although the Democrats claimed with caustic emphasis that Tilden was the rightful President.

Major-General Winfield S. Hancock had the honor to be the unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency of 1881. He was nominated on the second ballot of the Democratic Convention, that met at Cincinnati in June. Governor Tilden declined the nomination, as did also Governor Seymour. Senator Thomas F. Bayard was a favorite with many of the

Southern members, but the nomination of Hancock was made unanimous with great good feeling.

The Republicans had already, some three weeks before, convened at Chicago, and nominated James A. Garfield for President, and Chester A.



WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK.

Arthur for Vice-President. There had been numerous candidates in the field—General Grant, for a third term, the most prominent during the early balloting, and James G. Blaine close in his wake. On the thirty-fourth ballot Garfield had suddenly come into notice, and on the thirty-sixth ballot was chosen, to the intense satisfaction of the members. The "Independent National or Greenback Party" convened at Chicago on the 9th of

June, and nominated James B. Weaver, of Iowa, for the Presidency; and the Prohibitionists nominated General Neal Dow of Maine.

The canvass was illumined with dazzling fire-works, and every "trick of the trade" was brought into use in the battle. The two parties assailed each other with surprising vigor, without any very startling results. In each State, the appointment of electors was by popular vote, and every electoral vote was counted as cast. General Hancock had acquitted himself honorably as a soldier, first in the Mexican War, then in the campaign against the Seminoles, and he especially distinguished himself in many of the great battles of the late Civil War. He was born in 1824, and was graduated from the Military Academy at West Point in 1844. A devotee of the science of war, he became familiar with the best authorities and an accomplished tactician. In person, he was a fine example of physical manhood, high bred, well educated, polished in manners, and of sound judgment and well-known integrity of character. His heroic military achievements attracted the people, and secured for him the large popular vote of 4,442,033, while Garfield received a popular vote of 4,442,950.

The historical procession is still on the march. At this writing we are in the midst of the tumult attending the twenty-fifth Presidential election. The two chief candidates are James G. Blaine, of Maine, and Grover Cleveland, of New York. Mr. Blaine was nominated by the Republican convention which met at Chicago on the 3d day of June: Grover Cleveland was nominated by the Democratic convention at Chicago on the 8th of July. There were other conventions—the "Anti-Monopolists" met at Chicago in May and nominated General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts; the "Greenbackers" convened at Indianapolis during the same month and also nominated General Butler; and the "Prohibitionists" held a convention at Pittsburg, nominating John P. St. John, of Kansas.

The canvass has been exceptional in its principal features. The issues have conspicuously dwindled into personal butchery. In the violence of partisan vituperation and falsification, in journalistic malevolence, in the intensity of popular excitement, the display of campaign rockets and the racket of campaign doggerel, it has had no parallel in any former Presidential struggle. On the 4th of November the question was submitted to the vote of the American people; the result of which was so evenly divided that on the morning of the 5th both of the two great political parties claimed the victory: and as we go to press the final settlement of the important question is still in abeyance.

Martha J Lamb

STATEMENT

OF

THE MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY OF NEW YORK.

F. S. WINSTON, President.

For the year ending December 31st, 1883.

ASSETS..... $101,148,248.25.

Annuity Account.

	No.	Ann. Pay'ts.		No.	Ann. Pay'ts.
Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1883.	55	$19,200 91	Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1884.	61	$23,134 31
Premium Annuities.....		3,712 44	Premium Annuities...		3,674 96
Annuities Issued.....	7	4,433 40	Annuities Terminated.....	1	537 48
	62	$27,346 75		62	$27,346 75

Insurance Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies in force, Jan. 1st, 1883.	106,214	$329,554,174	Policies in force, Jan. 1st, 1884.	110,990	$342,946,032
Risks Assumed.....	11,531	37,810,597	Risks Terminated..... ...	6,755	24,418,73
	117,745	$367,364,771		117,745	$367,364,771

Revenue Account.

Dr.		*Cr.*	
To Balance from last account.....	$92,782,986 08	By paid Death Claims.....	$5,095.795 00
" Premiums received.....	13,457,928 44	" " Matured Endowments.....	2,866,261 73
" Interest and Rents.....	5,042.964 45	Total claims— $7,962,056 73	
		" " Annuities.....	27,661 38
		" " Dividends	3,138,491 69
		" " Surrendered Policies and Additions.....	2,851,150 71
		Total paid Policy-holders— $13,959,360 51	
		" " Commissions, (payment of current and extinguishment of future,).....	886,126 90
		" " Premium charged off on Securities Purchased.....	405,472 22
		" " Taxes and Assessments.....	226,057 69
		" " Expenses.....	834,752 79
		" " Balance to New Account....	94,972,108 86
	$111,283,878 97		$111,283,878 97

Balance Sheet.

Dr.		*Cr.*	
To Reserve at four per cent.....	$95,571,877 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate.....	$46,303,472 34
" Claims by death not yet due.....	908,635 00	" United States and other Bonds...	25,279,040 00
" Premiums paid in advance.....	22.794 35	" Loans on Collaterals....	15,037,910 00
" Agents' Balances.....	8,479 56	" Real Estate....	8,633,971 89
" Surplus and Contingent Guarantee Fund.....	4,636,462 34	" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest.....	3,403,249 63
		" Interest accrued.....	1,310,588 23
		" Premiums deferred, quarterly and semi-annual.....	1,039,229 68
		" Premiums in transit, principally for December...	140,786 48
	$101,148,248 25		$101,148.248 25

NOTE.—If the New York Standard of four and a half per cent Interest be used, the Surplus is over $12,000,000.

From the Surplus, as appears in the Balance Sheet, a dividend will be apportioned to each participating Policy which shall be in force at its anniversary in 1884.

THE PREMIUM RATES CHARGED FOR INSURANCE IN THIS COMPANY WERE REDUCED IN 1879 ABOUT 15 PER CENT ON ORDINARY LIFE POLICIES.

ASSETS... .....$101,148,248 25

NEW YORK, January 18, r884.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES.

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LUCIUS ROBINSON,
SAMUEL D. BABCOCK,
HENRY A. SMYTHE,
GEORGE S. COE,
JOHN E. DEVELIN,
SEYMOUR L. HUSTED,
OLIVER H. PALMER,
RICHARD A. MCCURDY,
JAMES C. HOLDEN,
HERMANN C. VON POST,
GEORGE C. RICHARDSON,
ALEXANDER H. RICE,
WILLIAM F. BABCOCK,
F. RATCHFORD STARR,
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